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others, such as the Utina, Potano, and Apalachee of Florida, and the Chiaha, Tali, Mobile, and many more farther north. It is even uncertain whether at that date any sort of confederacy existed. As time went on, however, the Florida tribes were destroyed or scattered, and the same fate overtook the Yamasee, the Indians of the Georgia coast, and the smaller tribes in the neighborhood of South Carolina. This served to increase the power of the Creeks proper, both by weakening that of their neighbors and by causing many fugitive tribes to unite with them and add to their fighting force. Leaving out of consideration the Hitchiti, Alabama, Koasati, and Tuskegee, who were incorporated almost before the dawn of clear history, we have very exact information of the incorporation of the Yuchi, which had formerly been an independent and hostile tribe, of part of the Shawnee, and of the remnant of the Natchez. This system of adoption resulted in the strengthening of the confederacy about in proportion to the weakening of its neighbors, until finally but one tribe remained, the Choctaw, able to contend with it on anything like equal terms. This latter, it is to be noted, owed its strength not so much to incorporation of fugitive elements as to a location where it was for a long time protected against European encroachment, intensive cultivation of the soil, and an unwarlike disposition—all contributing to a steadily mounting population. The Choctaw government was very feebly centralized for the same reason until very late times when it was much strengthened as a result of constant attacks on the part of Chickasaw and Creek enemies. The Creeks, on the other hand, had adopted their federal union very early, probably in part as the result of pressure from without, and as this pressure was increased by the approach of white settlements the sense of danger tended to accelerate the centralization. It thus happened that in the last quarter of the eighteenth century conditions were ripe for the evolution of a still more closely knit state, and merely awaited the advent of the man who could bring it about. And such a man appeared.

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A critical life of Alexander McGillivray would be a distinct contribution to southern history, but it is not germane to our purpose. Doubtless much that has been written regarding him is inaccurate and I do not vouch for all the facts given in the following account by Swan, but of the revolution he accomplished in Creek government there can be no doubt. Swan says that his title was Steutsa'cco-Cho'ota' which is evidently a very bad attempt at isti àtcagàgi làko, "great honored or beloved man."[80] He goes on:

"The present great beloved man, who left Georgia in disgust about the year 1776, and attached himself to the upper Creeks,

[80] His Indian name, however, is given by Pope as "Hippo ilk Meco, or the good Child King." In correct Creek this would be Hobol-hili miko, but there is reason to think that McGillivray did not belong to a clan which would entitle him to be called miko.

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where he was born, by the advice of his father immediately set about placing himself at the head of the nation. His kindred and family connexion in the country, and his evident abilities, soon gave him such influence among them that the British made him their commissary, with the rank and pay of Lieutenant-Colonel, under Colonel Brown, then superintendent.

"After the English had abandoned the nation, in 1782, this beloved man found it necessary, in order to carry on the war with success against the Georgians, to undertake a reform in the policy of the nation, which had for a long time been divided by faction.

"He effected a total revolution in one of their most ancient customs, by placing the warriors in all cases over the micos or kings, who, though not active as warriors, were always considered as important counsellors. The micos resisted this measure for some time; and the struggle became at last so serious, that the beloved chief had one Sullivan and two others, partizans of the micos, put to death in the public squares. They were all three white men who had undertaken to lead the faction against him; but he finally crushed the insurgents, and effected his purposes.

"The spirit of opposition still remained against him in the old Tallassie king, Opilth Mico, who, with his clan, pronounced M'Gillivray a boy and an usurper, taking steps that must be derogatory to his family and consequence. And under these circumstances he undertook to treat separately with the Georgians. The consequences were, his houses were burnt in his absence, and his corn and cattle destroyed. Notwithstanding, he remained refractory for a long time, as well as some of the most important of the lower towns, until, finding the Georgians aimed at them indiscriminately, and a Mr. Alexander had killed twelve of their real friends (the Cussutahs), they dropped their internal disputes, and united all their efforts, under the great chief, against the frontiers."[a]

Swan adds some interesting particulars regarding the means resorted to by McGillivray to secure his authority. He kept the several towns in obedience by threatening to remove the white traders from among them. He encouraged the presentation of complaints by all parties but put off judgment so long that the parties usually settled the matter between themselves, thereby relieving him of the necessity of delivering a verdict unfavorable to one of them and attracting personal enmity in consequence. Another device, as old as tyranny, was to collect about himself a body of retainers. Swan says:

"Some young men of his relations, and several active warriors living about Little Tallassie, whom the chief keeps continually attached to him by frequent and profuse presents, serve him as a

[a] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 261.

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kind of watch, and often in the capacity of constables—pursue, take up, and punish, such characters as he may direct; and on some occasions have acted as executioners.

"It is a maxim of his policy to give protection to outlaws, debtors, thieves, and murderers from all parts of the country, who have fled in great numbers from the hands of justice, and found an asylum in the Creek nation. The whites living among the Indians (with very few exceptions), are the most abandoned wretches that can be found, perhaps, on this side of Botany Bay; there is scarcely a crime but some of them has been guilty of. Most of the traders and all their hirelings and pack-horse-men, are of the above description." [83]

McGillivray's father, Lachlan McGillivray, was a Scotchman loyal to the crown, and from him and his sojourn among the whites Alexander had gained sufficient astuteness to know how to deal with the colonists, along with a prejudice against their cause. His government, it will be seen, resembled rather a Greek tyranny than the military democracy to which Swan likens it. It must be added, however, that McGillivray's power was due rather to his shrewdness and his understanding of the Indian mind than to the exercise of autocratic authority, though, as we have seen, he could use the iron glove on occasion. McGillivray belonged to the Wind clan,[84] and although this clan held an exalted position in the tribe, none of the officials of Otciapofa, his proper town and that which he made his capital, were Wind people. This explains in part his adoption of the term "great beloved man," one which could be held by a member of any clan. The government as I have described it also explains the appellation of "grand chief" which Milfort applies to McGillivray.[85] Milfort was probably one of those outsiders whom McGillivray gathered about him. That he was made a tástanagi is probable, but, as has been stated above, the name did not carry the significance which Milfort attaches to it of "head war chief" of the nation.

Milfort and Pope both confirm Swan's statement regarding the internal revolution effected by McGillivray, except that where the former says "nation" we must substitute "town," or "towns." His words are:

"The Tastanégy or grand war chief formerly had no part in the internal administration, his authority lasted only as long as the war: but now, he is the first civil as well as the first military chief of the nation." [86]

Says Pope:

"M'Gillivray who is perpetual dictator, in Time of War subdelegates a Number of Chieftains for the Direction of all military

[83] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 282.
[84] Milfort, Mém., p. 323; Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 269.
[85] Ibid., pp. 40-41 et seq.
[86] Milfort, op. cit., p. 257.

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Operations; and when the War concludes, they, in Compensation for their martial Achievements, are invested by the Dictator with civil Authority which supersedes the hereditary Powers of their Demi-Kings." [86]

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It is hardly likely that the Indians would have suffered a violent injection of outside officials into their local governments, and it is therefore probable that the men elevated to positions of control in this manner were the "big warriors" (tástánagi łáko) in their respective towns. During a period of almost perpetual war the influence of the war leaders was certain to be enhanced in any event; McGillivray simply took advantage of this and continued their war powers into times of peace.

After McGillivray's death, February 17, 1793, no man appeared of sufficient force and tact to take his place and the government seems to have slipped back, at least in part, into the ancient channels.

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Some hints have already been given regarding this government, particularly its council of chiefs and national assembly, as well as the leadership of certain towns. The primacy of Coweta,[87] both over the Lower Creek towns and over the whole nation, appears to have been reasserted, Tukabahchee assuming the headship of the Upper Creeks and the secondary position in the confederacy.

A few years after the death of McGillivray, Benjamin Hawkins, United States agent in charge of the southern Indians, attempted to introduce certain innovations into the Creek government, and indeed he asserts that before the adoption of his plan they had been without a national government of any sort. In the light of other facts such a sweeping statement can not be accepted. His innovations merely tended to make systematic and stable an authority which had before been relatively loose and casual. He thus recounts the results of his efforts:

"At a meeting of the national council, convened by order of the agent for Indian affairs [i. e., Hawkins himself], at Tookaubatche, the 27th November, 1799, the chiefs, after a long and solemn deliberation, on the affairs of the nation, which were laid before them by the agent for Indian affairs, came to a resolution to adopt the plan of the agent, "to class all the towns, and to appoint a warrior over each class, denominated the warrior of the nation."

"The towns thus classed, with the warriors for the nation, are:

"1st. Hook-choie, We-wo-cau, Puc-cun-tal-lau-has-see, O-pil-thluluc-co and Thlot-lo-gul-gau. For these five towns they appointed Sim-mo-me-jee ["Doing-it-for-them"] of Wewocau.

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[86] Pope, Tour, p. 65.

[87] In the American State Papers (Indian Affairs, vol. I, p. 706) is a long historical account of the relations between the whites and the Creek Indians, compiled by Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia. His object is to show that the sanction of Coweta to a treaty ceding land rendered the treaty valid, and this prejudiced viewpoint must be allowed for, although, as we have seen, the primacy of Coweta among Creek towns at one period was certainly a fact.